

# **EXHIBIT E**

CRAVATH, SWAINE & MOORE LLP

# THE STATESMAN'S YEARBOOK

THE POLITICS, CULTURES AND  
ECONOMIES OF THE WORLD

## 2008

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## IRAQ



Jumhuriya al 'Iraqia  
(Republic of Iraq)

*Capital:* Baghdad

*Population projection, 2010:* 32.53m.

*GDP per capita, 1998: (PPP\$) 3,197*

### KEY HISTORICAL EVENTS

Around 3000 BC the Sumerian culture flourished in Mesopotamia—the part of the Fertile Crescent between and around the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Incursions from Semitic peoples of the Arabian Peninsula led to Akkadian supremacy after the victory of Sargon the Great (c. 2340 BC). The Sumerian cities, such as Ur, reasserted their independence until 1700 BC, when King Hammurabi established the first dynasty of Babylon. Hammurabi and his son, Samsu-iluna, presided over the political and cultural apogee of Babylon; it was a time of great prosperity and relative peace. Babylonia was challenged by the Anatolian Hittites, who sacked Babylon in 1595 BC. A weakened Babylonia fell to the Kassites from the Zagros mountains, who held sway for over 400 years. The power-vacuum in northern Babylonia was filled by the Hurrian kingdom of Mitanni until Assyria's dominance in the 13th century BC. The Semitic Assyrians built an empire that stretched from Tarsus on the Mediterranean to Babylon, which they sacked in 1240 BC.

Elamite invasions in the 12th century BC allowed the establishment of a second Babylonian dynasty—Isin, or Pashe—but the assertiveness of its king, Nebuchadnezzar I, provoked Assyrian retaliation. Assyrian control of Babylonia was regained but tempered by massive immigration of Aramaeans from Upper Mesopotamia and Syria. Nevertheless, the Assyrians achieved considerable imperial expansion under Ashurnasirpal II in the early ninth century BC. Assyrian decline and revival was repeated in the eighth century. Babylon was recaptured in 729 BC and

most of the Fertile Crescent, from the Nile Delta to the Persian Gulf, was subjugated. However, the empire soon crumbled after the death of the great King Ashurbanipal in 627 BC. Revolts in Babylonia were led by the Chaldeans, who had settled in the south from the ninth century. An alliance of old enemies—the Medes and the Scythians—ravaged the Assyrian Empire and in 612 BC, the capital, Nineveh, fell to the Medes.

Babylonia, known at this time as Chaldea, assumed control of much of the Fertile Crescent. In 586 BC, Nebuchadnezzar II conquered Phoenicia and Judah, destroying Jerusalem and deporting 15,000 Judaeans as labourers for Babylon. This Babylonian revival withered under his successors, who were defeated by Achaemenid Persia. Cyrus the Great captured Babylon in 539 BC. His rule was strengthened by his self-association with the Babylonian throne and by his religious tolerance; the Babylonian deity Bel-Marduk was restored and the Temple of Jerusalem rebuilt. Xerxes I (485–465 BC) styled himself the Persian Emperor and seized the Bel-Marduk statue, provoking several Babylonian rebellions.

### Alexander

The last of the Achaemenids, Darius III, was defeated at the Battle of Gaugamela (near Mosul) in 331 BC by Alexander the Great of Macedon, who established the Hellenistic Age of the Near East. Having assumed the Persian throne, he died at Babylon in 323 BC. His empire was split in four; Seleucus took control of Mesopotamia and Persia and declared himself king in 305 BC. Babylonia was soon eclipsed by a new capital at Seleucia on the Tigris and was abandoned during the third century. Parthia, Bactria and Anatolia were lost by Seleucus' successors until Antiochus III (223–187 BC) reasserted his lordship over the lost provinces. However, his foray into Greece was repulsed by Rome, which forced a heavy indemnity on the Seleucid Empire. Rapid territorial losses to Rome, Ptolemaic Egypt and local rebellions led to a Parthian invasion of Babylonia in 129 BC.

The Parthian Empire, with its winter capital at Ctesiphon on the Tigris, reached its territorial zenith under Mithridates II (123–88 BC), who defeated Armenia and repelled the Scythians. Though a looser political unit than the Seleucid state, Mithridates' empire was a conscious inheritor of the great traditions—Persian, Babylonian and Hellenistic—in culture, language and symbolism. Intrigue over its nominal vassal, Armenia, brought Parthia into conflict with Rome. At Carrhae the Parthians inflicted a crushing defeat on a Roman army under Crassus in 53 BC. Several wars followed until Vologases I achieved a settlement with Emperor Nero over the Armenian buffer-state in AD 63. Dynastic disputes bedevilled Parthia and its vassal kingdoms. The invasion of Armenia by Osroes I (AD 109–129) sparked a Roman invasion in AD 113 under Trajan, who annexed Armenia and occupied most of Mesopotamia. Roman control ended after Trajan's death but Vologases IV was forced to cede western Mesopotamia to Rome. However, Mesopotamia remained a battleground, such as the AD 195 invasion by the Emperor Severus, who looted Ctesiphon, further weakening the Parthian state. In AD 224 Artabanus IV, the last of the Parthian kings, was defeated by Artaxerxes, ruler of Persia and founder of the Sassanid Dynasty.

The Sassanian Persians emulated the Achaemenids and attempted to regain their empire, leading to inevitable conflict with Rome. Artashir's son, Shapur I, continued his father's expansion in the east and attacked Rome's Levantine provinces. Syria and Armenia were overrun and the Roman Emperor Valerian captured at Edessa in 259. Shapur II (309–379) consolidated Sassanid power, defeating threats from Arabia and

Central Asia and wresting control of the Tigris and Armenia from the Romans. The religious policies of the Zoroastrian Sassanids fluctuated from tolerance to persecution. Khosrau I (531–579) revived imperial expansion; his grandson, Khosrau II, was restored to the throne by the Byzantine Emperor Maurice, who was rewarded with Armenia and northeastern Mesopotamia. However, Khosrau retook Mesopotamia after Maurice's murder, beginning a Persian rampage through the Byzantine East. The sack and pillage of Jerusalem provoked Emperor Heraclius, who struck the Persian heartland. In 627 Heraclius entered Ctesiphon and destroyed the palace of Khosrau, who was murdered. Sassanid Persia, exhausted by conflict with Rome, quickly fell to the Arab invasion.

Led by Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas, the Arab forces of Islam defeated the Sassanians at the Battle of Al-Qadisiyyah (c. 636) on the Euphrates and at Nahavand, western Iran, in 642. By 639 most of Iraq (*Erak*, 'lower Iran'), comprising the centre and south of modern republic, had been conquered; as had Al-Jazirah ('The Island'), the area north of Tikrit. Mass Arab immigration saw the establishment of garrison towns at Kufa (near Babylon) and Al-Basrah and later at Mosul. After the first four caliphs, the Caliphate effectively became hereditary under the Umayyads, based at Damascus. However, their rule was disputed, especially in Iraq. The death of Ali's second son, Husayn, at Karbala in 680 left a body of opposition, the Shias, or 'partisans' of Ali. Iraq was controlled by a governor and, from the 690s, Arabic became the language of administration.

#### *Rise of Baghdad*

In 743 civil war came to the Caliphate. Having failed to resolve the tensions between rival Arab military groups, the Umayyads succumbed to the rebellion of the Abbasids, who called for a return to strong Islamic leadership. In 750 the last Umayyad caliph, Marwan II, was deposed by Abu al-'Abbas (As-Saffah), supported by Iranian and Iraqi Shias. However, As-Saffah installed himself as caliph, rejecting a Shia imam. In 754 he was succeeded by his brother Al-Mansur, who moved the capital to Baghdad on the Tigris. This move symbolized the end of the hegemony of Syrian and Yemeni Arabs over the Caliphate. Nevertheless, an overburdened Iraq provided numerous threats to Abbasid authority; Al-Mansur had to quell Shia revolts in Iraq in 763. Caliph Al-Mu'tasim moved his capital to Samarra in 836 to remove his Turkic Mamluk soldiers from Baghdad. The suppression of the Zanj Revolt (869–879) of African slaves around Al-Basrah prompted the return to Baghdad.

Political fragmentation came quickly in the 930s and broke the Caliphate. The Shia Buyids took Iraq in 946, depriving the Abbasid caliphs of temporal power. From the 970s, Egypt was ruled by a rival caliphate, the Ismaili Fatimids. Baghdad was taken by the Seljuk Turks under Toghrul, the Sultan of Iran, in 1055. Although the Seljuk territories fragmented after the death of Malik Shah I in 1092, Iraq remained under Seljuk authority until the Mongol invasion. In 1258 Baghdad was sacked by the Mongol Hulagu Khan; the city was ravaged, its people slaughtered and its Grand Library destroyed. The sack ended the Abbasid Caliphate and Baghdad's role as a major cultural centre. Hulagu established the Il-Khanid Dynasty of Iran. Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity flourished under the patronage of Hulagu's successors until the conversion of Khan Ghazan to Sunni Islam in 1292. The Il-Khanate fragmented in the 1330s and Iraq was ruled by the Mongol Jalayirids.

#### *Ottoman Rule*

In 1401 Baghdad was sacked in by Timur. His death in 1405 allowed the Black Sheep Turkmen (Kara Koyunlu) to overthrow their Jalayirid masters. However, their rapid expansion ended in defeat in 1466 at the hands of the White Sheep Turkmen (Ak Koyunlu). Rivalry with the Ottoman Turks in Anatolia weakened the White Sheep Turkmen, who were forced to

withdraw from Iraq by the Turkic Safavid rulers of Iran. Shah Ismail I took Baghdad in 1509 and made Shi'ism the state religion; all other creeds were banned. However, Iraq soon fell to the Sunni Ottomans, with Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent taking Baghdad in 1534. Shah Abbas reclaimed Iraq for Iran in 1603, brutally suppressing a major Kurdish rebellion in 1610. Ottoman authority was reimposed by Sultan Murad IV, who led his army into Baghdad in 1638.

Centuries of neglect and war had devastated the irrigation systems and agricultural wealth of Iraq. The Ottomans treated Iraq as a buffer state against Iran and allowed Kurdish and Bedouin tribes to dominate. Mamluks asserted their power in Iraq until 1831, when Baghdad was devastated by flooding. Serious administrative reform (*tanzimat*) came in 1869 with the appointment of Midhat Pasha as governor of Baghdad, with great improvements in the army, the law and education. The Young Turks revolution of 1908 gave Iraq limited political representation.

#### *British Mandate*

Anglo-German rivalry led to a British invasion of southern Iraq in Nov. 1914. Although Al-Basrah fell in 1915, the British suffered a major defeat at Al-Kut in 1916. Nevertheless, Baghdad was taken in March 1917. After the First World War the Allies entrusted Iraq to Britain under the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which protected British oil interests in the region. The State of Iraq became a League of Nations mandate under British Control in Nov. 1920. Rebellions in Kurdish and southern areas were suppressed with bombing campaigns. A Hashemite monarchy was installed, under Amir Faysal ibn Husayn from Mecca, a wartime ally, and an indigenous army created. The monarchy was supported by a plebiscite in 1921. Kurdish-dominated Mosul province—vital for its massive oil reserves—was granted to Iraq by the League of Nations in 1925. Britain's mandate ended in 1932. Rebellions followed in Kurdish areas, led by Mustafa Barzani until he fled to the USSR in 1945. Rejecting the partition of Palestine, Iraq went to war with Israel in 1948, leading to the emigration of 120,000 Iraqi Jews.

The monarchy was overthrown in a military coup on 14 July 1958. King Faisal II and Nuri al Said, the prime minister, were killed. A republic was established, controlled by a military-led Council of Sovereignty under Gen. Abdul Karim Qassim. In 1963 Qassim was overthrown and Gen. Abdul Salam Aref became president, with a partial return to a civilian government, but on 17 July 1968 a successful coup was mounted by the Pan-Arabist Ba'ath Party. Gen. Ahmed Al Bakr became president, prime minister, and chairman of a newly established nine-member Revolutionary Command Council. In July 1979 Saddam Hussein, the vice-president and a Sunni Muslim, became president in a peaceful transfer of power.

The 1979 Iranian Revolution was perceived as a threat to the delicate Sunni-Shia balance in Iraq. In Sept. 1980 Iraq invaded Iran, ostensibly over territorial rights in the Shatt-al-Arab waterway. The war claimed over a million lives and saw the use of chemical weapons by the Iraqi army. The al-Anfal campaign (1986–89) countered Kurdish rebellions, killing 182,000 Kurds. Chemical weapons were prominent, most notably at Halabja, where 5,000 died in one day. A UN-arranged ceasefire took place on 20 Aug. 1988 and UN-sponsored peace talks continued in 1989. On 15 Aug. 1990 Iraq accepted the pre-war border and withdrew troops from Iranian soil.

#### *1991 War*

On 2 Aug. 1990 Iraqi forces invaded and rapidly overran Kuwait, on the pretext of alleged Kuwaiti 'slant-drilling' across the Iraqi border. The UN Security Council voted to impose economic sanctions on Iraq until it withdrew from Kuwait and the USA sent a large military force to Saudi Arabia. Further Security Council resolutions included authorization for the use of military



force if Iraq did not withdraw by 15 Jan. 1991. On the night of 16-17 Jan. coalition forces (US and over 30 allies) began an air attack on strategic targets in Iraq. A land offensive followed on 24 Feb. The Iraqi army was routed and Kuwait City was liberated on 28 Feb. Iraq agreed to the conditions of a provisional ceasefire, including withdrawal from Kuwait. Subsequent Kurdish and Shia rebellions were brutally suppressed.

In June 1991 UNSCOM, the United Nations Special Commission, conducted its first chemical weapons inspection in Iraq in accordance with UN Resolution 687. In Sept. a UN Security Council resolution permitted Iraq to sell oil worth US\$1,600m. to pay for food and medical supplies. In Oct. the Security Council voted unanimously to prohibit Iraq from all nuclear activities. Imports of materials used in the manufacture of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons were banned, and UN weapons inspectors received wide powers to examine and retain data throughout Iraq.

In Aug. 1992 the USA, UK and France began to enforce air exclusion zones over southern and northern Iraq in response to the government's persecution of Shias and Kurds. Following Iraqi violations of this zone and incursions over the Kuwaiti border, US, British and French forces made air and missile attacks on Iraqi military targets in Jan. 1993. On 10 Nov. 1994 Iraq recognized the independence and boundaries of Kuwait. In the first half of 1995 UN weapons inspectors secured information on an extensive biological weapons programme. At the beginning of Sept. 1996 Iraqi troops occupied the town of Arbol in a Kurdish safe haven in support of the Kurdish Democratic Party faction which was at odds with another Kurdish faction, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. On 3 Sept. 1996 US forces fired missiles at targets in southern Iraq and extended the no-fly area northwards to the southern suburbs of Baghdad.

#### *Weapons Inspection*

Relations with the USA deteriorated still further in 1997 when Iraq refused co-operation with UN weapons inspectors. The USA and the UK threatened retaliatory action and a renewal of hostilities looked probable until late Feb. 1998 when Kofi Annan, the UN Secretary General, forged an agreement in Baghdad allowing for 'immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access' to all suspected weapons sites. In Aug. 1998 Saddam Hussein engineered another stand-off with the UN arms inspectors, demanding a declaration that Iraq had rid itself of all weapons of mass destruction. This was refused by the UN chief inspector. In Nov. all UN personnel left Iraq as the USA threatened air strikes unless Iraq complied with UN resolutions. Russia and France urged further diplomatic efforts, but on 16 Dec. the USA and Britain launched air and missile attacks aimed at destroying Saddam Hussein's suspected arsenal of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

In Feb. 2000 the UN Security Council nominated Sweden's Hans Blix to head the new arms inspectorate to Iraq but he was refused entry into the country. In Feb. 2001 the USA and Britain launched a further series of air attacks on military targets in and around Baghdad. A new UN Security Council resolution was passed in May 2002. Constituting the biggest change since the introduction in 1966 of a UN-administered Oil-for-Food scheme to alleviate the suffering among the civilian population, the new resolution limited import restrictions to a number of specific sensitive goods. In Nov. 2002 the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1441, holding Iraq in 'material breach' of disarmament obligations. Weapons inspectors, under the leadership of Hans Blix, returned to Iraq four years after their last inspections, but US and British suspicion that the Iraq regime was failing to comply led to increasing tension, resulting in the USA, the UK and Spain reserving the right to disarm Iraq without the need for a further Security Council resolution. Other Security Council members, notably China, France, Germany and Russia, opposed the proposed action.

#### *Fall of Saddam*

On 20 March 2003 US forces, supported by the UK, began a war aimed at 'liberating Iraq'. UK troops entered Iraq's second city, Al-Basrah, on 6 April. On 9 April 2003 American forces took control of central Baghdad, effectively bringing an end to Saddam Hussein's rule. Widespread looting and disorder followed the fall of the capital. The bloodless capture of Tikrit, Saddam Hussein's hometown, on 14 April marked the end of formal Iraqi resistance. An interim government was planned until democratic elections could be held. On 22 May the UN Security Council voted to lift economic sanctions against Iraq and to support the US and UK occupation 'until an internationally recognized, representative government is established by the people of Iraq'. Only Syria opposed the resolution by boycotting the session. A 25-man Iraqi-led governing council (IGC) met in Baghdad for the first time in July 2003.

Resistance to the occupying forces increased from late summer. Bomb attacks in Aug. targeted the UN's Baghdad office, killing the UN special representative. Ayatollah Mohammed Baqr al-Hakim, the most senior Shia cleric in Iraq, was assassinated with 100 others in Najaf. Saddam Hussein was captured by American forces at Al-Dawr, near Tikrit, on 13 Dec. 2003. His trial for crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide began in July 2004. In Feb. 2004 over 100 Kurds were killed in attacks in Irbil and the Shia community suffered 270 deaths in Baghdad and Karbala. In May 2004 accusations surfaced of abuse of Iraqi prisoners by American and British soldiers.

On 30 Jan. 2005 the first democratic elections to a Transitional National Assembly were won by the Shia-dominated United Iraqi Alliance. Jalal Talabani became the country's new president on 6 April 2005, and on 3 May 2005 Iraq's first democratically elected government under Prime Minister Ibrahim al-Jaafari was sworn in. In Oct. 2005 a new federal constitution was approved in a nationwide referendum (although without the support of the Sunni community) and the trial of former dictator Saddam Hussein for mass murder opened in Baghdad. Despite the political advances, insurgent violence has continued against foreign troops, domestic security forces and civilians. In Dec. 2005 a general election for a new parliament was won by the United Iraqi Alliance. In April 2006 after months of deadlock Nouri al-Maliki was appointed the new prime minister. Insurgent violence continues against foreign troops, domestic security forces and civilians. Nobody can be certain how many Iraqis have been killed since the start of the US-led invasion in March 2003. Estimates vary from 57,000 by Iraq Body Count and the Oxford Research Group on the basis of media reports through to about 600,000 in a John Hopkins University study funded by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology based on interviews of households. In Nov. 2006 Saddam Hussein was sentenced to death. His execution on 30 Dec. 2006 drew mixed reaction both in Iraq and abroad.

#### **TERRITORY AND POPULATION**

Iraq is bounded in the north by Turkey, east by Iran, southeast by the Persian Gulf, south by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, and west by Jordan and Syria. In April 1992 the UN Boundary Commission redefined Iraq's border with Kuwait, moving it slightly northwards in line with an agreement of 1932. Area, 434,128 sq. km. Population, 1997 census, 22,046,244; density, 50.8 per sq. km. 2005 population estimate: 28,807,000. In 2000, 67.9% of the population lived in urban areas.

The UN gives a projected population for 2010 of 32.53m.

The areas, populations and capitals of the governorates:

Governorate	Area in sq. km	Population 1997 census	Capital
Al-Anbar	138,501	1,023,776	Ar-Ramadi
Babil (Babylon)	6,468	1,181,751	Al-Hillah
Baghdad	734	5,423,964	Baghdad

Governorate	Area in sq. km	Population 1997 census	Capital
Al-Basrah	19,070	1,556,445	Al-Basrah
Dahuk	6,553	402,970	Dahuk
Dhi Qar	12,900	1,184,796	An-Nasiriyah
Diyala	19,076	1,135,223	Baqubah
Irbil	14,471	1,095,992	Irbil
Karbala	5,034	594,235	Karbala
Maysan	16,072	637,126	Al-Amarah
Al-Muthanna	51,740	436,825	As-Samawah
An-Najaf	28,824	775,042	An-Najaf
Ninawa (Nineveh)	37,323	2,042,852	Mosul
Al-Qadisiyah	8,153	751,331	Ad-Diwaniyah
Salah ad-Din	24,751	904,432	Tikrit
As-Sulaymaniyah	17,023	1,362,739	As-Sulaymaniyah
Ta'mim	10,282	753,171	Kirkuk
Wasit	17,153	783,614	Al-Kut

The most populous cities are Baghdad (the capital), population of 4,689,000 in 1999, Irbil and Mosul. Other large cities included Kirkuk, Al-Basrah, As-Sulaymaniyah and An-Najaf.

The population is approximately 80% Arab, 17% Kurdish (mainly in the north of the country) and 3% Turkmen, Assyrian, Chaldean or other. Shia Arabs (predominantly in the south of the country) constitute approximately 60% of the total population and Sunni Arabs (principally in the centre) 20%.

The national language is Arabic. Other languages spoken are Kurdish (official in Kurdish regions), Assyrian and Armenian.

### SOCIAL STATISTICS

2000 estimates: births, 792,000; deaths, 177,000; marriages, 171,000. Birth and death rates, 2000 (per 1,000 population): births, 34.1; deaths, 7.6. Life expectancy in 2000: 61.7 years for males and 64.7 for females. Annual population growth rate, 1992-2002, 2.9%. Infant mortality, 2003: 107 per 1,000 live births. Fertility rate, 2004: 4.7 births per woman. Maternal mortality rate per 10,000 live births, 2003: 29.4.

### CLIMATE

The climate is mainly arid, with limited and unreliable rainfall and a large annual range of temperature. Summers are very hot and winters are cold. Al-Basrah, Jan. 55°F (12.8°C), July 92°F (33.3°C). Annual rainfall 7" (175 mm). Baghdad, Jan. 50°F (10°C), July 95°F (35°C). Annual rainfall 6" (140 mm). Mosul, Jan. 44°F (6.7°C), July 90°F (32.2°C). Annual rainfall 15" (384 mm).

### CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

Until the fall of Saddam Hussein, the highest state authority was the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) but some legislative power was given to the 220-member *National Assembly*. The only legal political grouping was the National Progressive Front (founded 1973) comprising the Arab Socialist Renaissance (Ba'ath) Party and various Kurdish groups, but a law of Aug. 1991 legalized political parties provided they were not based on religion, racism or ethnicity.

In July 2003 a 25-man Iraqi-led governing council met in Baghdad for the first time since the US-led war in an important staging post towards full self-government. The temporary Coalition Provisional Authority was dissolved on 28 June 2004. Power was handed over to the interim Iraqi government which assumed full sovereign powers for governing Iraq. It became a transitional government after elections in Jan. 2005. The 275-member Transitional National Assembly approved a draft new constitution on 29 Aug. 2005, 14 days after the original deadline. It was approved in a nationwide referendum held on 15 Oct., with 78.6% of votes cast in favour. Shias and Kurds generally supported the constitution. Most Sunnis opposed it because of its reference to federalism and the risk that Iraq could ultimately break up, as Iraq's oil resources are in the Shia and Kurdish areas. The constitution states that Iraq is a democratic, federal,

representative republic and a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-sect country. Islam is the official religion of the state and a basic source of legislation. Elections were held in Dec. 2005 for the new 275-member *Council of Representatives*. It is expected to determine the composition of a proposed upper chamber.

### National Anthem

'Mawtini' ('My Homeland'); words by I. Touqan, tune by W. G. Gholmieh.

### RECENT ELECTIONS

In parliamentary elections to the permanent Iraqi National Assembly held on 15 Dec. 2005 the United Iraqi Alliance won 41.2% of the votes, taking 128 of 275 seats, ahead of the Kurdistan Alliance with 21.7% and 53 seats, the Iraqi Accord Front (15.1% and 44), the Iraqi National List (8.0% and 25), the Iraqi Front for National Dialogue (4.1% and 11) and the Kurdistan Islamic Union (1.3% and 5). A further six parties won three seats or fewer.

### CURRENT ADMINISTRATION

*President*: Jalal Talabani; b. 1933 (sworn in 7 April 2005).

*Vice Presidents*: Adil Abdel-Mahdi; Tariq al-Hashemi.

In March 2007 the cabinet consisted of:

*Prime Minister*: Nouri al-Maliki; b. 1950 (sworn in 20 May 2006).

*Deputy Prime Ministers*: Barham Saleh; Salam al-Zubai.

*Minister of Defence*: Abdul-Qader al-Mifraji. *Foreign Affairs*: Hoshiyar Zebari. *Interior*: Jawad Polani. *Justice*: Hashim al-Shibli. *Finance*: Bayan Jabr. *Health*: Ali al-Shimari. *Communication*: Mohammed Allawi. *Environment*: Nermin Othman. *Housing*: Bayan Dizayee. *Human Rights*: Wejdan Mikhail. *Municipalities and Public Works*: Ryad Ghraib. *Science and Technology*: Raed Fahmi Jahed. *Planning*: Ali Baban. *Trade*: Abdul Fatah al-Sudani. *Youth and Sport*: Jassem Jaafar. *Agriculture, and Transportation (acting)*: Yuarib Nadhim al-Abudi. *Displacement and Migration*: Abdelsamad Rahman Sultan. *Water Resources*: Abdul Latif Rasheed. *Labour and Social Affairs*: Mahmud Muhammad Jawad Al Radi. *Education*: Khudair al-Khuzai. *Higher Education*: Abed Diab Al-Oujaili. *Culture*: Asad Kamal Al-Hashimi. *Industry*: Fawzi Al-Hariri. *Oil*: Hussein Sharistani. *Electricity*: Karim Wahid.

### CURRENT LEADERS

#### Jalal Talabani

#### Position

President

#### Introduction

Jalal Talabani, an experienced Iraqi Kurdish politician, was named state president of Iraq on 6 April 2005 by the Iraqi National Assembly. He was elected by parliament to a second term on 22 April 2006. He was previously the founder and secretary general of one of the main Iraqi Kurdish political parties, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), and later a prominent member of the Iraqi Governing Council which was established following the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003.

#### Early Life

Jalal Talabani was born in the village of Kelkan, Irbil province in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1933, the year after Britain surrendered its mandate over Iraq. Talabani joined the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) at the age of 14 and was elected to its central committee six years later. He attended secondary schools in Irbil and Kirkuk and the Law College in Baghdad from 1952 to 1955, when he was forced to leave the college because of his political activities. Following the Iraqi revolution in 1958, when the monarchy was overthrown by a military coup led by Abdul



Karim Qassim, Talabani rejoined the college, and graduated in 1959. He subsequently served in the Iraqi army as the commander of a tank unit, before working as a journalist for various Kurdish publications.

When the Kurdish north launched an armed uprising against the Iraqi government in Sept. 1961, Talabani joined the forces led by Mulla Mustafa al-Barzani (the *peshmerga*) and fought in the Kirkuk and As-Sulaymaniyah areas. He also led Kurdish diplomatic delegations to Europe and the Middle East and negotiated with the leftist, secular Ba'ath party, whose members dominated Iraq's governing council following a coup led by Abdul Salam Aref in Feb. 1963.

By 1964, when profound disagreements were emerging within the KDP, Talabani established a more secular, urban and left-leaning faction, criticizing al-Barzani for 'conservative and tribal' politics. Arguments between the two factions rumbled throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, occasionally erupting into armed confrontations. Although deals that secured some autonomy for the Kurds were struck between the KDP and the ruling Ba'ath party (the so-called March Manifesto of 1970), arguments broke out over access to the region's oil supplies and whether Kurds could maintain an army. When the Kurdish revolt collapsed in 1975 (partly as a result of Iran withdrawing its support), Talabani formed a new party, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), based in As-Sulaymaniyah.

The PUK bitterly opposed the Ba'ath party's enforced resettlement of Kurds to Arab areas of Iraq in the late 1970s. At this time there were also numerous armed confrontations between the PUK and the KDP. In 1983, while the KDP was fighting Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath party, Talabani was prepared to negotiate. However, hostilities were resumed by the PUK in 1985, after Saddam failed to implement an agreement. In the aftermath of Saddam's chemical weapons attack that killed around 5,000 Kurds at Halabja in 1988 and the subsequent military action that led to more than 100,000 Kurds fleeing to Turkey, Talabani made efforts to bring unity to Kurdish politics. He improved relations between the PUK and the KDP (then led by Mas'ud al-Barzani) and later formed the Iraqi Kurdistan Front, travelling widely to gain international support for Kurdish autonomy. He became an increasingly powerful and vocal critic of Saddam Hussein's regime.

When a haven was created for Kurds by the Western alliance after the first Gulf War, elections were held there, and a PUK-KDP joint administration was formed in 1992. However, tensions resurfaced and led to serious confrontations between the two groups in 1994. Both parties signed a peace deal in Washington, D.C. in 1998 and the accord was cemented in Oct. 2002 when the regional parliament reconvened in a session attended by both parties' MPs.

Following the US-led invasion of Iraq and the fall of Saddam in April 2003, Talabani joined the US-appointed Iraqi Governing Council (IGC), holding the organization's rotating presidency for the month of Nov. 2003. He distanced himself from the movement for Kurdish independence, pledging to support Iraqi federalism.

In the Iraqi elections on 30 Jan. 2005, a Shia alliance won a slim majority in parliament and the Kurdish coalition came second in the polls. For over two months, with the country under sustained attacks from insurgents, both groups argued about the formation of the new government before electing Talabani as the president (a largely ceremonial role) on 6 April 2005. Adil Abdel-Mahdi, a Shia, and interim president Ghazi al-Yawer, a Sunni Arab, were elected as vice-presidents.

#### Career in Office

A presidential council of Talabani and his two deputies appointed Ibrahim al-Jaafari, a conservative Islamist from the majority Shia community, as prime minister on 7 April 2005. Speaking as Iraq's new president, Talabani promised to represent all Iraqis and to

reach out to the country's ethnic and religious groups as well as to Iraq's Arab and Islamic neighbours. In a letter to the British prime minister, Tony Blair, Talabani wrote: 'We honour those who sacrificed their lives for our liberation. We are determined out of respect to create a tolerant and democratic Iraq, an Iraq for all the Iraqi people. It will take time and much patience, but I can assure you it will be worthwhile, not only for Iraq, but for the whole of the Middle East.' He went on to describe his election to president as 'a symbol of the promise, integration and unity of the new Iraq.'

Against a backdrop of continuing violence in Iraq, many analysts questioned the strength of the Shia-Kurdish alliance, pointing out that the two groups have little common ground other than a shared past of resistance against Saddam Hussein. In Oct. 2005 a new Iraqi constitution was approved narrowly in a national referendum, heralding fresh parliamentary elections on 15 Dec. 2005.

After months of political deadlock, Iraq's parliament convened on 22 April 2006 to fill the top leadership posts and Talabani was elected by parliament to a second presidential term. On the same day he appointed the Shia politician Nouri al-Maliki as prime minister designate after the latter was nominated by his Shia coalition, the United Iraqi Alliance (UIA). Following the restoration of Iraqi-Syrian diplomatic ties in Nov. 2006, Talabani became the first Iraqi head of state to visit Damascus for 30 years in Jan. 2007. While in Syria, Talabani urged other Arab countries to send their diplomats back to Iraq and pledged to provide protection for them.

#### Nouri al-Maliki

##### Position

Prime Minister

##### Introduction

Nouri al-Maliki was appointed Iraq's prime minister designate by the president, Jalal Talabani, on 22 April 2006. He succeeded his close ally and fellow member of the conservative Shia Muslim al-Dawa group, Ibrahim al-Jaafari, who had been unable to curb the violent insurgency or create alliances with Sunni and Kurdish factions since elections in Dec. 2005. Al-Maliki, who once commanded Shia forces against Saddam Hussein's regime from exile in Syria, promised an inclusive government comprising 'all components of Iraqi society'. The new government took office in May, but there was to be no respite from the escalating insurgency and sectarian bloodshed, which led in Jan. 2007 to the announcement by President George W. Bush of a further substantial US troop deployment to Iraq to try to restore stability.

##### Early Life

Nouri Kamel al-Maliki was born in Hindiyah, near Hillah, southern Iraq in 1950. While studying Arabic at Baghdad University in the early 1970s he joined al-Dawa, a conservative Shia Muslim group that was deeply opposed to the secular politics of the ruling Ba'ath party. In 1980, following a crackdown on al-Dawa by Saddam Hussein's administration, al-Maliki was forced into exile, initially in Iran and from 1990 in Damascus, Syria. He organized resistance against Saddam as a political officer for al-Dawa, at a time when the party was developing close ties with the militant Hizbollah group in Lebanon and with the Iranian authorities, who were then waging war with Saddam's Iraq.

Following the US-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003 and the fall of Saddam, al-Maliki returned to his homeland. In July 2003 he was selected as a member of the US-backed Iraqi Interim Governing Council, serving as deputy chairman of a committee formed to purge Saddam's Ba'athist allies from political life. The de-Ba'athification committee was criticized for being heavy-handed and many Sunni Muslims resented what they saw as a Shia plot to deny them a role in post-Saddam Iraq. In April

2004 the then top US official in Iraq, Paul Bremer, conceded the de-Ba'athification committee had overstepped its boundaries and returned some teachers and army officers to their old jobs. As a senior member of al-Dawa, al-Maliki worked closely with his party's leader, Ibrahim al-Jaafari, to forge a coalition of Shia parties, known as the United Iraqi Alliance (UIA). The coalition was endorsed by Iranian-born Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, Iraq's most influential Shia cleric, and it won a parliamentary majority (140 of the available 275 seats) in the Iraqi elections of 30 Jan. 2005.

Having been elected to the transitional National Assembly, al-Maliki became the senior Shia member of the committee charged with drafting the new constitution. He took a tough line in the protracted negotiations and resisted efforts by Sunnis to reduce the autonomy given to Kurds in the north and Shias in the south of the country. Attempts by the prime minister, Ibrahim al-Jaafari, to form a broad-based coalition government to reflect the results of the elections on 15 Dec. 2005 became deadlocked, against a backdrop of increasing sectarian violence. Faced by strong opposition from Sunni and Kurdish factions, al-Jaafari stepped down on 21 April 2006 and al-Maliki emerged as the UIA's candidate for the premiership. He was named prime minister designate by President Jalal Talabani on 22 April 2006.

#### **Career in Office**

Calling for an end to sectarian divisions and a commitment to unity, al-Maliki began the task of appointing his cabinet members, a process completed in early June with the assignment of the key defence and interior ministries (responsible for the army and the police). He signalled that he would work to curb the Sunni insurgency by requiring militias to be integrated into the nation's security services. Having formed his cabinet, he announced in late June a national reconciliation plan, including a conditional amnesty for insurgents and envisaging intra-communal dialogue between political leaders, clerics, armed militias and civil society representatives. However, any potential political progress was undermined by the sectarian violence that continued to inflict a high daily death toll and increasingly polarized society. Sunni Muslim opinion was further inflamed by the widely criticized conduct of Saddam Hussein's execution for crimes against humanity at the end of Dec. 2006 (and of two of his henchmen the following month). Also in Dec., the Iraq Study Group, a US bipartisan review commission, recommended a staged US troop reduction by 2008 as well as dialogue with Syria and Iran to arrest the deteriorating security situation. This approach was rejected by most Iraqi politicians and by President Bush, who in Jan. 2007 announced that he would send more than 21,000 extra US troops to Iraq to reassert the authority of al-Maliki's government in Baghdad. Under intense pressure to improve the security situation, al-Maliki was reported to have stated that he wanted to stand down as prime minister.

#### **DEFENCE**

Following the downfall of Saddam Hussein, recruitment began in July 2003 for a new professional army run by the US military. Saddam Hussein's forces numbered 400,000 at their peak. Foreign troops in Iraq in Aug. 2005 numbered 162,000 (139,000 American).

#### **Army**

A New Iraqi Army is being created to replace Saddam's army with a professional force. In Jan. 2006 army personnel numbered 105,600.

In July 2004 the Civil Defense Corps (23,100 personnel in April 2004) was disbanded and converted into a National Guard. It has an end-strength objective of 61,900.

#### **Navy**

An 800-strong Coastal Defense Force has been established. It began operations in Oct. 2004.

#### **Air Force**

An Army Air Corps has been established and, at Feb. 2005, had a total of 14 fully trained Iraqi pilots. There were a total of 500 personnel in Jan. 2006.

#### **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Iraq is a member of the UN, Islamic Development Bank, OIC, the League of Arab States and OPEC.

#### **ECONOMY**

The oil sector accounted for 76.1% of GDP in 2001; agriculture accounted for 7.8%, manufacturing 1.6% and services 13.8%.

#### **Overview**

The military victory of the US-led coalition in 2003 led to the shutdown of much of Iraq's administrative structure. Looting, insurgent attacks and sabotage, targeted especially at oil pipelines and facilities, have since undermined efforts to rebuild the economy. World Bank estimates indicate that Iraq's GDP declined by 30% in 2003. In Nov. 2004 the Paris Club of official creditors agreed to write off 80% of Iraq's external debt, subject to Iraq concluding an economic stabilization programme with the IMF.

#### **Currency**

From 15 Oct. 2003 a new national currency, the new *Iraqi dinar* (NID), was introduced to replace the existing currencies in circulation in the south and north of the country.

#### **Budget**

In Oct. 2003 the Iraqi minister of finance announced the post-Saddam Iraqi national budget for 2004, projecting total revenues of about 19.26trn. new Iraqi dinars (US\$13bn.) and total expenditures of 20.15trn. new Iraqi dinars (US\$13.5bn.). The deficit was to be funded through refunds from cancelled Oil-for-Food contracts. The UN terminated the Oil-for-Food programme in Nov. 2003, with surplus funds being transferred to the Development Fund for Iraq (administered by the Coalition Provisional Authority). An international conference was held in Madrid, Spain in Oct. 2003 to help raise additional funds for reconstruction and development. A follow-up conference was held in Brussels in June 2005, at which the Iraqi government outlined its priorities for reconstruction and the international community reinforced pledges made at Madrid.

#### **Banking and Finance**

All banks were nationalized in 1964. Following the Gulf War in 1991 the formation of private banks was approved, although they were prohibited from conducting international transactions. A new post-Saddam banking law in Oct. 2003 authorized private banks to process international payments, remittances and foreign currency letters of credit. The Trade Bank of Iraq has been established as an export credit agency to facilitate trade financing. The independent Central Bank of Iraq is the sole bank of issue; its Governor is Dr Sinan Mohammed Rida Al-Shabibi. All domestic interest rates were liberalized on 1 March 2004.

#### **ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES**

##### **Environment**

Iraq's carbon dioxide emissions from the consumption and flaring of fossil fuels were the equivalent of 3.3 tonnes per capita in 2004. An *Environmental Sustainability Index* compiled for the World Economic Forum meeting in Jan. 2005 ranked Iraq 143rd in the world out of 146 countries analysed, with 33.6%. The index measured the ability of countries to maintain favourable environmental conditions and examined various



factors including pollution levels and the use or abuse of natural resources.

### Electricity

Before the war in March–April 2003 installed capacity was 4,400 MW. Despite post-war looting and sabotage, production had recovered and by Oct. 2003 the generating capacity was back to pre-war levels. The estimated available power generating capacity in 2005 was about 6,000 MW.

### Oil and Gas

Proven oil reserves at the end of 2005 totalled 115.0bn. bbls. Oil production in 2005 totalled 89.5m. tonnes. The restoration of significant oil production and the resumption of exports have been priorities since the war in March–April 2003. Production in March 2005 was 2.1m. bbls. a day and exports 1.4m. bbls. a day.

In 2005 Iraq had natural gas reserves of 3,170bn. cu. metres.

### Minerals

The principal minerals extracted are phosphate rock (100,000 tonnes in 2002) and sulphur (98,000 tonnes in 2002).

### Agriculture

There were 5.75m. ha. of arable land in 2001 and 0.34m. ha. of permanent crops. 3.53m. ha. were irrigated in 2001. Production (2003 estimates, in 1,000 tonnes): wheat, 2,553; barley, 1,316; tomatoes, 1,000; dates, 910; potatoes, 625; melons and watermelons, 575; cucumbers and gherkins, 350; oranges, 310; grapes, 300; rice, 125.

Livestock (2000): cattle, 1.35m.; sheep, 6.78m.; goats, 1.60m.; asses, 380,000; chickens, 23m.

### Forestry

In 2000 forests covered 799,000 ha., representing 1.8% of the land area. Timber production in 2003 was 113,000 cu. metres.

### Fisheries

Catches in 2003 totalled approximately 21,600 tonnes, of which about 61% from inland waters.

## INDUSTRY

Iraq remains under-developed industrially. Production figures (2001, in 1,000 tonnes): residual fuel oil, 8,327; distillate fuel oil, 7,346; petrol, 3,252; cement, 2,000; kerosene, 1,085; jet fuel, 602.

### Labour

In 1996 the labour force was 5,573,000 (75% males). Unemployment was 33% in Aug. 2005, down from 55% in Aug. 2003. In Sept. 2003 the US civil administrator signed an order implementing a new 11-tier salary scale for all public employees, replacing a temporary scale in effect since the collapse of the Saddam regime.

### Trade Unions

The Iraqi Federation of Workers' Trade Unions was formed in May 2003. There is also a Federation of Workers' Councils and Unions in Iraq, founded in Dec. 2003.

## INTERNATIONAL TRADE

### Imports and Exports

Imports and exports (in US\$1m.):

	2000	2001	2002
Imports (c.i.f.)	3,330	5,190	9,817
Exports (f.o.b.)	14,289	11,041	9,990

Manufactures and food are the main import commodities. Crude oil is the main export commodity. Post-war crude oil exports are estimated to have risen from 0.2m. bbls. a day in June 2003 to 1.5m. bbls. a day by Dec. 2003. Imports and exports have both increased significantly since the Saddam era.

## COMMUNICATIONS

### Roads

In 2002 there were an estimated 44,900 km of roads, of which 84.3% were paved. Vehicles in use in 2002 included 637,500 passenger cars and 375,000 lorries and vans. In 1996 there were 1,338 road accidents resulting in 1,573 deaths. Considerable post-war road reconstruction since 2003 reflects heavy military use and lack of maintenance.

### Rail

In 2000 railways comprised 2,603 km of 1,435 mm gauge route. Passenger-km travelled in 2000 came to 0.38bn. and freight tonne-km to 0.87bn. In 2003, five main lines were in operation, serving 107 stations.

### Civil Aviation

In 2000 there were international flights for the first time since the 1991 Gulf War, with air links being established between Iraq and Egypt, Jordan and Syria. Since 2003 the two international airports at Baghdad and Al-Basrah have undergone post-war reconstruction. Major domestic airports are at Mosul, Kirkuk and Irbil.

### Shipping

The merchant fleet in 2002 had a total tonnage of 188,000 GRT, including oil tankers 59,000 GRT. A 565-km canal was opened in 1992 between Baghdad and the Persian Gulf for shipping, irrigation, the drainage of saline water and the reclamation of marsh land. Iraq has three oil tanker terminals at Al-Basrah, Khor Al-Amaya and Khor Al-Zubair. Its single deep-water port is at Umm Qasr.

### Telecommunications

In 2004 there were 1,608,200 telephone subscribers (62.2 per 1,000 population), including 574,000 mobile phone subscribers. Internet users in 2004 numbered 36,000. Satellite connections are the primary international telecommunications link. The Coalition Provisional Authority awarded three regional mobile telecommunications licences in Oct. 2003.

### Postal Services

In 2003 there were 331 post offices.

## SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

### Justice

Up until the war in March–April 2003, for civil matters: the court of cassation in Baghdad; six courts of appeal at Al-Basrah, Baghdad (2), Babil (Babylon), Mosul and Kirkuk; 18 courts of first instance with unlimited powers and 150 courts of first instance with limited powers, all being courts of single judges. In addition, six peace courts had peace court jurisdiction only. 'Revolutionary courts' dealt with cases affecting state security.

For religious matters: the Sharia courts at all places where there were civil courts, constituted in some places of specially appointed Qadhis (religious judges) and in other places of the judges of the civil courts. For criminal matters: the court of cassation; six sessions courts (two being presided over by the judge of the local court of first instance and four being identical with the courts of appeal). Magistrates' courts at all places where there were civil courts, constituted of civil judges exercising magisterial powers of the first and second class. There were also a number of third-class magistrates' courts, powers for this purpose being granted to municipal councils and a number of administrative officials.

The death penalty was introduced for serious theft in 1992; amputation of a hand for theft in 1994. It is believed that during the Saddam era there were hundreds of executions annually. The death penalty was suspended in April 2003 after the fall of Saddam, but reinstated in Aug. 2004. There were 54 executions in 2006 (up from three in 2005).

In the immediate aftermath of the war, the justice system was idle but by July 2003 an estimated 100 courts were functioning. All Baghdad criminal court functions were consolidated into two operational courthouses. In Dec. 2003 the Governing Council established the Iraqi Special Tribunal to try senior members of the Saddam regime for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide.

The population in penal institutions in April 2004 was approximately 15,000 (60 per 100,000 of national population).

#### Police

A new post-war national police force has been established and numbered 82,400 in Jan. 2006. The personnel includes both former officers who are being retrained and new recruits.

#### Education

Primary education became compulsory in 1976. Primary school age is 6–12. Secondary education is for six years, of which the first three are termed intermediate. The medium of instruction is Arabic; Kurdish is used in primary schools in northern districts.

According to UNESCO, in 2000–01 there were: 68,400 kindergarten pupils; 4.03m. primary school children with 190,650 teachers; and 1.36m. secondary school pupils with 81,500 teachers. Adult literacy rate was 56% in 2000 (male, 68%; female, 43%). Most schools were closed in March–April 2003 when UNICEF estimates that 200 were destroyed and a further 2,750 looted. By Oct. 2003 all 22 universities and 43 technical institutes and colleges were open, as were nearly all primary and secondary schools. School enrolment has increased by 20% since 2000. Expenditure on education in 2003 was an estimated US\$384.5m.

#### Health

According to the World Health Organization, in 2003 there were (per 10,000 population): 6.3 physicians, 1.2 dentists, 1.0 pharmacists, 13.1 hospital beds, and 12.1 nurses and midwifery personnel. There are approximately 240 hospitals and 1,200 primary health care clinics operating in post-war Iraq.

#### RELIGION

The constitution proclaims Islam the state religion, but also stipulates freedom of religious belief and expression. In 2001 the population was 97% Muslim; there were also 750,000 Christians. See also IRAQ: Territory and Population.

#### CULTURE

##### World Heritage Sites

Iraq has two UNESCO World Heritage Sites: Hatra (inscribed on the list in 1985), a large fortified city of the Parthian (Persian) Empire; and Ashur (Qal'at Sherqat) (2003), the first capital and

the religious centre of the Assyrians from the 14th to the 9th centuries BC.

#### Broadcasting

The ban on satellite dishes, enforced while Saddam Hussein was in power, has since been lifted. By Aug. 2005 there were 29 independent TV stations.

In 2000 there were 5.03m. radio and 1.88m. TV receivers (colour by SECAM H).

#### Press

In 1996 there were four main daily newspapers (one of which is in English) with a combined circulation of 407,000.

#### Tourism

In 2001 there were 127,000 foreign tourists.

#### DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES

Of Iraq in the United Kingdom (9 Holland Villas Rd, London, W14 8BP)

*Ambassador:* Salah Al-Shaikhly.

Of the United Kingdom in Iraq (International Zone, Baghdad)

*Ambassador:* Dominic Asquith, CMG.

Of Iraq in the USA (1801 P St., NW, Washington., D.C., 20036)

*Ambassador:* Samir Shakir Mahmood Sumaiaie.

Of the USA in Iraq (APO AE 09316, Baghdad)

*Ambassador:* Ryan C. Crocker.

Of Iraq to the United Nations

*Ambassador:* Hamid al Bayati.

Of Iraq to the European Union

*Ambassador:* Jawad Al-Doreky.

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